

CHAPTER 6

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF TRANSOXIANA

Transoxiana was the largest country outside the limits of Iran proper that was from early times inhabited by Iranian peoples – either as settled agriculturists (the Sogdians and the Chorasmians) or as nomads (the Sakas). Owing to its geographical situation it came only in particular periods into the field of vision of those peoples who have left us historical chronicles and other forms of written sources. In reconstructing the political history of Transoxiana between the 3rd century B.C. and the 7th century A.D. it is necessary to take into account not only the fragmentary character of the information at our disposal, but also the point of view from which Transoxiana is being mentioned or described.

From the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. down to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. we see the land beyond the Oxus mainly through the eyes of Greek and Latin writers (Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Pompeius Trogus in Justin's epitome, Ptolemy, Pliny and others), as the far north-eastern edge of the civilized world.

From the latter part of the 2nd century B.C. to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. we are submitted to the ideas and impressions of the court historiographers of the Celestial Empire, the writers of the *Shih-chi*, *Han shu* and *Hou Han-shu*, whose "Sinocentrism" was not at all confined merely to their geographical view from the east.

Starting in the 3rd century A.D., we must either consider Transoxiana from the standpoint of the Sasanian kings (Shāpūr I's inscription on the Ka'aba-yi Zardusht, and other Sasanian inscriptions) who carried out expeditions beyond the Oxus and obviously did not try to play down their successes, or follow the official historiography of the late Sasanian period, as reflected in Islamic sources, such as Ṭabarī.

The events of the 4th to 6th centuries that were connected with Transoxiana are illuminated by the sources – Greek and Latin, Persian and Arabic, Syriac, Armenian and Chinese – from different angles, but the selective character of the information given in each source, together with the tendentiousness of its point of view, makes it very difficult to

reconstruct the total picture. Only for the 7th and 8th centuries does the detailed information provided by the various sources lend itself to coordination, and for the first quarter of the 8th century already a few authentic diplomatic documents are known to us.

The archaeological data assembled in recent decades furnish very valuable material for study of the material and spiritual culture of Transoxiana, but for the reconstruction of its political history they can be used only to a very limited extent.

For this reason, the basic source, around which all the other data must be assembled and systematized, has to be the numismatic material – both the coins of Transoxiana itself and also information from finds of foreign (imported) coins beyond the Oxus.

The issuing in Transoxiana of a special currency of the country's own began with the striking of the so-called "barbarous imitations". We know of local silver imitations of early Seleucid coins of the patterns of Alexander's time (pl. 19 (1, 2)) and imitations of the coins of Antiochus I (pl. 19 (4-11); on the reverse side, a horse's head), and also numerous imitations of Greco-Bactrian coins – tetradrachms of Euthydemus (pl. 20 (1-4)), tetradrachms of Eucratides (pl. 23 (1)), obols of Eucratides (pl. 21 (12)), tetradrachms of Heliocles (copper – pl. 22 (5-8)). In order to be able to use these imitations as an historical source, it is necessary to understand the specific circumstances in which they were struck and circulated.

In the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D. many countries and peoples situated on the periphery of the Hellenistic and Roman civilization passed through the stage of striking "barbarous imitations". Perhaps the closest analogy as regards both the external phenomena and the essential processes underlying them is provided by a comparison between the "barbarous imitations" of Transoxiana and those of the western European tribes and peoples. In both cases there occurred a penetration of foreign coins into regions which were still without their own currency and ignorant of the circulation of money – and with these coins there arrived the idea itself of using for commercial dealings metal tokens of a certain shape and appearance. Subsequently the foreign coins were "reproduced" by local craftsmen – usually at a lower artistic and technical level. From one "generation" of imitations to another, mistakes and deviations from the prototype accumulated, representations "disintegrated" and lost their original meaning, and the inscriptions either became quite illegible or simply disappeared.

The usual metrological methods of investigation cannot be applied to these "barbarous imitations": their weight fluctuated a great deal, most often with a tendency to reduction (or else a concealed reduction was effected by using inferior metal in the minting).

All these signs testify to an important difference of principle between the coins of the economically developed civilizations and the "barbarous imitations": the rate of exchange of the former was based on their value, that is, it depended, in the first place, on the value of the gold or silver expended in making the coin, whereas that of the latter was conventional, and determined not only by their scarcity but also by the authority of the ruling power (whether manifested in tradition, or in a treaty) that was operative over a defined territory.

This is the essence of the distinction to be made between "civilized" and "peripheral" coins, from which follow three propositions that enable us to use "barbarous imitations" for reconstructing political history:

(1) The striking of "barbarous imitations" always occurs outside the political frontiers of a society with a developed monetary circulation;

(2) The "habitats" that we define for the different groups of "barbarous imitations" must, generally speaking, outline the frontiers within which influence was wielded by the authority (the ruling power) which determined the conventional rate of exchange of these imitations – that is, political frontiers;

(3) "Barbarous imitations" (as is shown by many examples from the western European and other peripheries of the Hellenistic and Roman world) correspond to a particular stage not only of economic but also of social development. A society of this kind is usually without a king, having only chiefs, tribal leaders and councils of elders in various forms; there is a nobility, but no clear-cut stratification into classes has yet occurred; as a rule, town life has not developed in such a society, and there is no written language.

The period of "barbarous imitations" was succeeded by a period of independent local strikings in Transoxiana, as though the country had outgrown the stage of imitation. In some cases the former patterns remained unaltered, but added to them was a *tamgha* (ownership mark) or a local legend (e.g. the early Sogdian coins on the pattern of Euthydemus' tetradrachms – pl. 20 (5–12)), while in others the new issues only showed continuity in relation to the local "barbarous imitations",

while already substantially differing from them. Thus, the coins of Hyrcodes (pl. 19 (13–25)) and the early Sogdian coins with a representation of an archer (pl. 21 (1–11)) continue the local imitations of the drachms of Antiochus I; the early Chorasmanian coins (pl. 23 (1–7)) originate from imitations of the tetradrachms of Eucratides; the coins of Sapadbizes (pl. 21 (13)) are derived from the imitations of the obols of Eucratides; and so on. Some of these issues occurred before the 6th and 7th centuries, and observation of their weight (and quality of silver) shows that their rate of exchange was apparently still conventional.

Many changes in the minting of coins in Transoxiana were closely bound up with the country's external political contacts. Beginning in the 4th to 6th centuries, when for a variety of reasons a large number of Sasanian coins found their way across the Oxus, the locally minted coins (the "Bukhārkhudāt" coins and the series preceding them) showed a strong influence from both Sasanian minting practice and Sasanian coin-iconography. From the second half of the 7th century, after the establishment of close diplomatic relations with T'ang China, there began in Transoxiana (in Sughd, northern Tukhāristān and a number of other regions) the issue of cast copper coins on the Chinese pattern, and from the second half of the 8th century the influence of the caliphate was predominant in the minting practice of Transoxiana.

I

In reconstructing the political history of Transoxiana in the 3rd to 1st centuries B.C. it is very important to consider the location of the northern frontier of the Greek possessions in Asia, which we can define only hypothetically.

When, after their victorious march across Asia, Alexander's army encountered stubborn resistance in Transoxiana and became bogged down there for over two years, the Greeks could regard only Bactria as conquered, and felt their position on the far side of the Oxus to be precarious. Clitus, to whom Alexander had just transferred, from the Persian Artabazus, the administration of Bactria and Sogdiana, said to Alexander at the banquet at Maracanda, "You assign to me the province of Sogdiana, so often rebellious, and not only untamed but not even capable of being subdued. I am sent to wild beasts, to which nature has given incorrigible recklessness".¹ The settlements of

¹ Quintus Curtius Rufus VIII. i. 35.

Greek soldier-colonists (*κατοικίαι*), by means of which Alexander wished to keep these regions in submission, were well populated and constituted a force to be reckoned with. Their size can be judged by the information we have¹ regarding the revolt of the Greek settlers in Bactria and Sogdiana in 323 B.C. in favour of returning home after Alexander's death; the army of the rebels numbered twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, although apparently not all the colonists took part in the revolt.

Alexander also tried to strengthen his position in Bactria by winning over the local nobles to his side: he himself married Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, one of the leaders of the Bactrians, and his comrades-in-arms married other representatives of the local nobility (in particular, Seleucus married Apame, daughter of Spitamenes). The position of Greek authority beyond the Oxus must have been especially shaky as a result of the defeat of the revolt of 323 B.C., after the severe suppression of which hardly any of the participants returned to Transoxiana.

Although in area Sogdiana (if we take into account the whole territory between the Oxus and the Jaxartes) was by far the largest of the Greek territorial-administrative units in Asia, it was often mentioned, even in Alexander's lifetime, along with Bactria, as an appendage to the latter. After Alexander's death, Perdikkas in 323 B.C. appointed Philip, son of Balakros, to be satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana,² and in 321 Antipater gave Bactria and Sogdiana (again joined together) to Stasanor.³ It is hard to believe that at this time, either, actual Greek authority extended over the whole territory of Sogdiana. More probably what was meant was some part of this territory directly adjacent to Bactria. In so far as the Oxus, with the river Vakhsh as its source served as the boundary, between Bactria and Sogdiana, it is most likely that the Greeks at that time wielded power in Transoxiana only over part of the right-bank valley of the Oxus, extending no further north than the Hīṣār range.

This situation hardly altered under the first Seleucids. In 311–302 B.C. Seleucus I fought against the Median satrap Nicanor and consolidated his authority in the eastern part of the state. The conquest of Bactria by Seleucus, on his way to India,⁴ is usually dated 306 B.C., but we have no information about any of his campaigns in Transoxiana, although the Sogdians are mentioned (along with the Parthians, Hyrcanians and Bactrians) among the peoples subject to him.⁵ What

¹ Diodorus XVIII. 7.

² Diodorus XVIII. 39. 6.

³ Appian ("The Syrian Wars"). 55.

⁴ Diodorus XVII. 57. 3; XVIII. 3. 3.

⁵ Justin xv. 4. 11.

is implied here, most probably, is those Sogdians who lived just across the Oxus, along the right bank of the river.

There is no reliable testimony to the extent of the Seleucids' power in Transoxiana for the later period, either, when Seleucus' son and future successor Antiochus I (who was Bactrian on his mother's side) became his deputy and co-ruler in the eastern satrapies (he was co-ruler from 293 to 280 B.C.). We have information about the destruction by "barbarians" of Alexandria in Margiana¹ and of the building by Antiochus Soter of a new city, Antiochia Margiana, the oasis which was encircled by a wall 1,500 stadia in length.² But the hypothetical "building", by analogy with these events, of two Antiochias in Transoxiana ("Antiochia Tarmata" in place of Alexandria-on-the-Oxus, with its site at Tirmidh, and "Antiochia in Scythia" on the site of Alexandria Eschata), is based on a very late and insufficiently reliable source.

The only definite evidence for penetration by the Seleucids into Transoxiana in the 3rd century B.C. is the expedition carried out in the eighties by the Milesian Demodamas, son of Aristides, a Seleucid general, about the aims and results of which we have no detailed information. It is difficult to suppose that the Seleucids regarded themselves as masters of the regions through which passed this expedition, the very mention of which has come down to us precisely because of its exceptional character, and which required for its realization, according to J. Wolski,³ the use of troops from the central and western provinces of the Seleucid state. All we know is that Demodamas crossed the Jaxartes and erected there an altar in honour of Apollo.⁴

When he became sole king, Antiochus I (280-61 B.C.) was fully occupied with affairs on the western frontiers of the Seleucid state, and under Antiochus II (261-46 B.C.) the eastern satrapies fell away (Diodotus in Bactria, Andragoras in Parthia and Hyrcania) and all connection was lost between the Seleucids and Transoxiana.

At this time there was still no minting of local coins in Transoxiana, or any regular circulation of foreign coins: we know of only two indubitable finds of Seleucid coins (at Afrāsiyāb, a site in Old Samarkand), and in the museums of Tashkent and Samarkand there are a

¹ Pliny VI. 18. 47.

² Strabo XI. 10. 2.

³ "L'Effondrement de la domination des Séleucides", pp. 23-4 (see Bibliography, p. 1292).

⁴ Pliny VI. 49; G. Julius Solinus 49. 5, 6.

few specimens of unknown origin. True, the first coins that Sogdiana knew were Seleucid ones: they it was that served as prototypes for the very earliest local imitations (from the end of the 3rd to the 1st century B.C.). If, however, we are talking of political frontiers, then the very existence of such imitations must testify *not* to the inclusion of Sogdiana in the Seleucid state, but rather to the fact that the main areas inhabited by the Sogdians (in the basin of the river Zarafshān) lay outside the limits of Seleucid authority.

Undoubtedly the power of the Greeks in Asia did not extend as far as Chorasmia, the historical fate of which did not always coincide with that of the other peoples of Transoxiana; in particular, the Chorasmians did not take part in the struggle against Alexander's army, either as part of Darius' host or after his defeat, when operations moved beyond the Oxus.

When the king of the Chorasmians, Pharasmanes (as Arrian calls him; to Quintus Curtius Rufus he is Phrataphernes), visited Alexander in Bactria, he was accompanied by 1,500 horsemen.¹ Pharasmanes offered Alexander his aid ("to be his guide and to get everything ready that the army would need"), if Alexander wanted to march against the "Colchians and Amazons" who were the Chorasmians' neighbours. Alexander thanked Pharasmanes, and "made a treaty of friendship with him, but said that it was inopportune for him to go to Pontus", and "asked Phrasmanes to postpone his aid" until such time as, having conquered India, and become master of all Asia, Alexander should "return to Hellas and from there proceed with all his land and sea forces through the Hellespont and the Propontis, and fall upon Pontus".

This passage is sometimes seen as evidence of Chorasmian hegemony at that time over the north Caspian steppes and of actual neighbourly relations between the Chorasmians and the peoples living beside the Black Sea, even to the extent of an analogy being drawn with the khanate of the Golden Horde. It is more probable, however, that Alexander's refusal was the result of very vague geographical ideas on the part of the "conqueror of the world", confusing (as, indeed, often happened) the Black Sea with the Aral Sea, or with the Caspian, and misunderstanding where it was that Pharasmanes was urging him to march.

Alexander himself looked upon this fleeting encounter as signifying

¹ Arrian, *Anabasis* IV. 15. 4-6 and Quintus Curtius Rufus VIII. i. 8 differ slightly about this event.

the conquest of Chorasmia;¹ but, according to one version,² it was to Chorasmia that Spitamenes fled after his final defeat, and the Greek forces did not decide to pursue him thither.

There is no evidence for any penetration by the Greeks into Chorasmia in subsequent years (and still less of the extension to that country of the political power of the Greek rulers in Asia). We have reliable evidence for the rule of Alexander's successors in Asia over Bactria, Parthia and Hyrcania only. These regions were closely connected with Central Asia in their historical destiny and in their spiritual and material culture, but they lay outside Transoxiana. The most important regions of Transoxiana – the greater part of Sughd and Khwārazm – remained at that time beyond the limits of the political authority of the Seleucids.

The northern frontier of the Greek possessions could not be pushed deep into Transoxiana during the following period, either, from the middle of the 3rd century to the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C., when the Greek rulers of Bactria were at the height of their power. It would be hard to suppose that the political history of Transoxiana was not closely bound up with that of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. But there are no grounds for even assuming that beyond the Oxus there existed a "Greco-Sogdian kingdom" comparable to Greco-Bactria, or any other sort of independent Greek realm. The statement that Euthydemus and his supporters "first and foremost won over to rebellion Bactria and all the adjoining territory"³ cannot be interpreted as meaning that Euthydemus, before becoming king of Greco-Bactria, was at some period ruler of Sogdiana (Margiana, Areia). The mention of the Sogdians among the peoples with whom the Bactrians fought wars in the time of Eucratides⁴ is also not evidence that Sogdiana was subject to the Greco-Bactrian king.

All this obliges us to consider more cautiously, too, Strabo's statement⁵ that the Bactrians "also ruled over Sogdiana, lying above Bactria towards the east, between the river Oxus, which separates the land of the Bactrians from Sogdiana, and the river Jaxartes". The second part of this passage, in which the situation of Sogdiana in relation to Bactria and its natural frontiers is described, is merely a geographical definition of what is meant by Sogdiana, obviously going back to the time of Alexander and the accounts of his campaigns. The

¹ *Anabasis* VII. 10. 6.

² Strabo XI. 8. 8.

³ Strabo XI. ix. 2.

⁴ Justin XLI, 6. 1-6.

⁵ XI. 11. 2.

statement that the Bactrians "also ruled over Sogdiana", to judge by the context, can refer only to the "best days" of Greco-Bactria, that is, can have in mind only a temporary subjection of some lands inhabited by Sogdians. In that case – as also for the period between the end of the 4th century and the middle of the 3rd B.C. – we may infer that the authority of the Greco-Bactrian kings extended not over all Sughd but only over some of the Sogdian territories on the farther side of the Oxus, directly adjoining the northern boundaries of Bactria.

Reference is sometimes made, as though to a decisive argument, to the finds of Greco-Bactrian coins that have been made beyond the Oxus. It is true that finds of coins of many Greco-Bactrian kings have been made on the right bank of the Oxus – coins of Diodotus (copper), Euthydemus (silver and copper), Demetrius (silver and copper), Antimachus (silver), Agathocles (nickel and copper), Eucratides (silver) and Heliocles (silver). However, even the Tirmidh area, where the largest proportion of these finds of coins beyond the Oxus has been made, falls far short of the regions lying to the south of that river as regards the number of finds. In all the other places in Transoxiana only isolated finds have occurred. The farther north one goes, the more rarely are Greco-Bactrian coins met with. In districts directly abutting on the right bank of the Oxus (the valleys of the Kāfirnihān and the Surkhān Daryā, and the Ḥiṣār valley), there have been isolated finds of silver coins of Euthydemus, Demetrius and Eucratides; somewhat more frequently, copper coins of Euthydemus have been found here (with the head of Zeus and a prancing horse). North of the line of the Ḥiṣār ridge, in the basin of the river Zarafshān, finds of Greco-Bactrian coins are extremely rare; a tetradrachm of Antimachus bearing Euthydemus' name was found in 1927 in the course of land-shifting work that happened to be going on at Panjikent; two obols of Eucratides were found in 1911 in Samarkand; five obols of Antimachus were found before 1917 near Shahr-i Sabz (Kish). Since the 1930s, when extensive archaeological investigations began in the Zarafshān valley, right down to the present time, not a single Greco-Bactrian coin has been found during these digs, although hundreds of burial mounds of the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D. have been opened, and dozens of sites, forts and settlements of different periods investigated.

As for the other parts of Transoxiana, only in Chorasmia have there been finds of two Greco-Bactrian coins (a tetradrachm of Eucratides and a drachm of Euthydemus); none have turned up in Chāch (Shāsh) or Ushrūsana or Farghāna.

We may thus presume, on the basis of the coins found, that only Tirmidh and the surrounding district was within the Greco-Bactrian dominions. The remaining valleys of southern Tajikistan and southern Uzbekistan, where at that time they did not strike their own coins, must be seen as a sort of monetary vacuum into which Greco-Bactrian money flowed as foreign currency; it was precisely in this region that between the end of the 2nd and the 1st century B.C. the issue of local imitations of Greco-Bactrian coins began.

As regards the remaining areas of Transoxiana, they are fully comparable, in respect of the number of Greco-Bactrian coins found there, with areas very remote from Bactria which were never subordinate to that state, such as southern Turkmenistan (a tetradrachm of Euthydemus on the Nisā site; a tetradrachm of Eucratides at the settlement of Garry-Kārīz), Transcaucasia (Greco-Bactrian coins in a hoard from Kobala) and even the Ukraine (one find of a tetradrachm of Heliocles); any conclusion concerning political frontiers would in these cases be quite futile.

What was there, in those days, beyond the Oxus? For the end of the 3rd century B.C. (about 206) we have unambiguous indications about this in the classical sources. Euthydemus, besieged by a Seleucid army in Zariaspa (Bactria), asked that Antiochus III be told that "the situation of both sides is becoming unsafe". "Along the frontier", he went on, "stands an immense horde of nomads, threatening us both; should the barbarians cross the frontier the country will certainly be conquered by them".¹ The nomad horde remained behind the natural frontier, the river Oxus, and this time, apparently, did not cross it. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. a large part of Transoxiana was evidently in the hands of nomadic tribes, but as to who these tribes were, and why they approached the borders of Bactria, the classical sources tell us almost nothing.

II

We must now look at Transoxiana from the standpoint of the east. Thanks to the Chinese chronicles (*Shih-chi*, *Han shu*) we know of conflicts at the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. between two large groups of nomadic tribes, the Hsiung-nu and the Yüeh-chih. These conflicts occurred far to the east of Transoxiana, and as a result of them, the Yue-chi tribes (who are usually identified

¹ Polybius XI. 34.

with the Tochari and Asiani of the classical writers) were forced into Transoxiana, crowding southward in their turn the tribes of Saka origin. Very probably the nomad hordes of whose presence on the Bactrian border Euthydemus spoke were Sakas. The displacement of Sakas across the Oxus and towards the south and south-west, under the pressure of the Yüeh-chih tribes, took place much later, around the middle of the 2nd century B.C.; already in the 1st century B.C. they appear in the political arena far to the south of Transoxiana as the "numismatic" dynasty which has left to us the so-called Indo-Saka coins.¹

The first detailed description of the "western borderland" in Chinese sources is based on the report of Chang-Ch'ien who was sent by the Chinese Imperial court to the Great Yüeh-chih for the purpose of concluding an alliance with them against the Hsiung-nu. Chang-Ch'ien, writing about the situation after 128 B.C., names five large countries in the "western borderland", only one of which, Ta-yuan, is inhabited by settled cultivators, the others – Wu-sun, K'ang-kiu, Yen-tsai and Great Yüeh-chih – are all the homes of nomads.

Ta-yuan, with up to seventy towns, large and small, and a few hundred thousand inhabitants, was the most populous country in the "western borderland". The generally accepted identification of Ta-yuan with Farghāna has quite recently been questioned by E. Pulleyblank. The identification of Ta-yuan with Sughd, which he proposes instead, is in any case no more incompatible with the totality of other data. Ta-yuan is not named among the countries subject to the Great Yüeh-chih. There is no mention of the latter, either, in somewhat later information about Ta-yuan – in connection with the unsuccessful expedition of a Chinese force ("6,000 horsemen from the dependent countries and a few tens of thousands of young ne'er-do-wells from China") in 104 B.C. against Ta-yuan in order to obtain some of the famous *argamak* horses of that locality, or in connection with the more successful repeat-expedition of 102–1 B.C., for the equipment of which "the whole Empire was brought into action". The men of Ta-yuan were saved from complete defeat by referring to the "allied armies that were expected from K'ang-Kiu", the country lying to the north-west of Ta-yuan. If Ta-yuan really was Sughd then we possess some notion of the latter's internal political set-up. All affairs in this country were decided by "elders", but there was also a "ruler". Before 102 B.C.

¹ See ch. 5, pp. 192 ff.

the ruler of Ta-yuan was one Mugua (Mu-Kua); after the conclusion of peace, the Chinese "made ruler of Ta-yuan" a local grandee named Motsai (Mei-ts'ai); in 100 B.C., "with general consent (of the elders of Ta-yuan) they killed him and called to the throne Shanfynya (Ch'an-föng), younger brother of Mugua".¹

K'ang-kiu was a country of nomads, most probably located (regardless of whether Ta-yuan be identified with Farghāna or with Sughd) on the middle reaches of the Jaxartes. Chang-Ch'ien tells us that K'ang-kiu "recognises the suzerainty of the Yüeh-chih in the south, and in the east that of the Hsiung-nu".² In the *Han shu*, where later information is also given (the account goes down to 25 A.D.), it is merely said that "K'ang-kiu is dependent on the Hsiung-nu to the eastward".

The nomad realm of Yen-tsai ("nearly 2,000 *li* from K'ang-kiu, to the north-west") lay "beside a great lake the shores of which are not high", and can be situated either on the lower reaches of the Jaxartes (i.e. beside the Aral Sea) or else beside the Caspian Sea, this being less likely.

Chang-Ch'ien's statements about the Great Yüeh-chih can be coordinated with those of classical writers concerning Transoxiana. He found them to the north of the river Guishui (i.e. the Oxus); they had "an army of 100,000 to 200,000 combatants",³ but, "dwelling in a free land, rarely subjected to enemy attacks, they are disposed to live peacefully".⁴ That the Great Yüeh-chih live north of the Oxus is also stated in the *Han shu*.

According to Chang-Ch'ien, "the Great Yüeh-chih, moving westward from Ta-yuan, struck at Ta-hia and conquered this country".⁵ Ta-hia had a population of over a million; there "they have no supreme head, but nearly every town appoints its own ruler". The Great Yüeh-chih regarded Ta-hia (Bactria) as a country subject to them, but this dependence was, judging by the description given, only nominal. While recognizing the supremacy of the Great Yüeh-chih, who remained in Transoxiana, Bactria still retained its independence (Chang-Ch'ien went there as to another country), and normal life went on without any obvious effects of "nomad invasions": there were cities and settlements of permanent inhabitants, surrounded by walls; in the capital there was a market with a great variety of goods; trade flourished, including international trade (merchants from Bactria travelled on

¹ *Han shu* ch. 61. [On Ta-yuan and the Chinese expedition cf. pp. 540ff.]

² *Shih-chi* 123. 3b.

³ *Shih-chi* 123. 3b.

⁴ *Shih-chi* 123. 2a.

⁵ *Shih-chi* 123. 5b.

business to India). This situation probably continued into the 1st century B.C., if we accept the account given in the *Han shu*.

Chang-Ch'ien's preponderant interest in the nomad countries, especially the larger ones, is easily understood: he had been sent to find allies for China against the Hsiung-nu. He speaks of a settled agricultural population only in connection with Ta-yuan; but this does not mean that there were no permanent settlements in other parts of Transoxiana. Archaeological data can supplement the picture drawn by Chang-Ch'ien.

In the second half of the 1st millennium B.C., small irrigated oases (along irrigation canals ten to fifteen kilometres in length), with a population engaged in agriculture, formed sporadic islets in uncultivated territory. During Alexander's entire journey from the Oxus to Maracanda he came upon not a single settlement. In Sogdiana, as in Bactria, only irrigated oases were fertile, "but a large part of this territory consists of uninhabited desert; owing to its aridity these cheerless regions are without inhabitants and produce nothing".¹ Large settlements provided with walls (the site at Afrāsiyāb = Maracanda, and the Kyuzeli-gyr site in Chorasmia), apparently lacked continuous built-up areas and were (like the "cliffs" mentioned in connection with Alexander's campaigns) places of refuge for the whole population of an oasis (comparable to the *refugia* of the European "barbarians") rather than towns. Only about the beginning of the Christian era and in the first centuries of it do archaeological data give evidence of the appearance of trunk-canals of great length for irrigation purposes, and the rise of urban life in the full sense of the word.

Transoxiana's acquaintance with money began in the 3rd century B.C., when Seleucid coins found their way there, as foreign currency. At the end of the 3rd or at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. the first locally produced "barbarous imitations" were issued in Sughd. At present we can speak with assurance of only two "lines" of local imitations of Seleucid coins.

For one of these (pl. 19 (1, 2)) the prototype was provided by Seleucid drachms of the Alexander type (with, on the obverse side, the head of Herakles = Alexander, facing right, and on the reverse side a seated figure of Zeus, bearing an eagle, facing left). This group of imitations is known to us only from a very small number of specimens, and cannot be assigned a location with any precision.

¹ Quintus Curtius Rufus, VII, n. 27.

The other group (pl. 19 (4-11)) was issued in the valley of the river Zarafshān (on the middle reaches) and took as its prototype the drachms of Antiochus I (obverse, a king's head facing right; reverse, a horse's head facing right). The numerous series of coins that make up this group illustrate various stages of departure from the original prototype, which testifies to the long period during which they were being struck. If we take as the date of their first issue the end of the 3rd century B.C., then the making of these imitations went on for not less than two centuries: to the final series of imitations of drachms of Antiochus I are directly related the earliest coins of Hyrcodes (pl. 19 (13) – a “hybrid” specimen), and also the early series of Sogdian coins with a representation of an archer (pl. 19 (12) and pl. 21 (1-11)).

Apparently, the link between these imitations and the name of Antiochus was retained in oral tradition (most probably through the names used for the coins), since on one of the very last series (pl. 19 (11)) there is an attempt to render in Aramaic characters the name of Antiochus (*'ntwḥ*), and the earliest coins showing an archer (the initial pattern for these was obviously not made by a local craftsman – pl. 21 (2)) “trace themselves back” to Antiochus' strikings by virtue of the Greek legend on the reverse side (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ).

At roughly this time there began in the western part of the valley of the river Zarafshān (the Bukhārā oasis) the issuing of imitations of the tetradrachms of the Greco-Bactrian king Euthydemus – at first (2nd century and part of 1st century B.C.) only with the distorted Greek legend (pl. 20 (1-4)).

To the north of Sughd – in Chorasmia or along the middle reaches of the Jaxartes – must have been the location of an imitation of a tetradrachm of another Greco-Bactrian king, Eucratides, which can be approximately dated as 2nd-1st centuries B.C.: the earliest Chorasmian coins go back to this.

Imitations of the obols of Eucratides (with the king wearing a helmet on the obverse side), belonging to the time between the last decades of the 2nd century B.C. and the end of the 1st century A.D. (pl. 21 (12)), are located very narrowly in southern Tajikistan (the burial-ground of Tup-khon, near Ḥiṣār, the Tuikhar burial-ground in the Bishkent valley, both of these points being in the basin of the river Kāfirniḥān). In the same territory (but, apparently, from the middle of the 1st century B.C.) and in districts of southern Uzbekistan there circulated (and were probably issued) copper imitations of tetradrachms and drachms of

Heliocles (pl. 22), finds of which have also been made to the south of the Oxus; the issuing of these imitations in copper preceded their being struck from silver (end of the 2nd, middle of the 1st century B.C.), but it is difficult to establish where this took place, since the only documented find that has been made of them is the Qunduz hoard, at the Khisht-tepe site in northern Afghanistan. Determination of the initial habitat of the imitations of Heliocles' coins is also made difficult by the fact that they continued in circulation right down to the Kushān period, and inclusive, judging by the archaeological stratigraphy of the finds made of them, and the other coins found along with them. It is most probable that their initial habitat covered only the districts of southern Uzbekistan (from there have come the majority of the specimens belonging to the earliest series of these imitations) and only later (with the cessation of the issuing of imitations of obols of Eucratides) did it extend to include also parts of southern Tajikistan.

Thus, both the written sources and the numismatic data show that Transoxiana in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. lacked internal political unity. Even Sughd (the basin of the river Zarafshān) was divided between at least two realms, this corresponding more or less to the later partition of the Zarafshān valley into "Bukharan Sughd" and "Samarkandian Sughd"; accordingly we have imitations of tetradrachms of Euthydemus and imitations of drachms of Antiochus I, with a horse's head on the reverse side. Imitations of the tetradrachms of Eucratides can be assigned to K'ang-Kiu or to Chorasmia, although this location is still hypothetical. The imitations of coins of Heliocles are defined with confidence as Yüeh-chih strikings, but it is still unclear whether they were struck for the whole Yüeh-chih domain or for only one of the five Yüeh-chih realms (*hsi-hou*) of which we learn from the *Han shu* (Hsiu-mi, with the city of Hsiu-mi; Shuang-mi with the city of Shuang-mi; Kwei-shwang, with the city of Hu-tsao; Hsi-tun, with the city of Po-mo; Kao-fu with the city of Kao-fu – *Han shu* 96A, 14b). The latter is more probable, since the area of circulation of the imitations of the coins of Heliocles is much smaller than the territory occupied by the Great Yüeh-chih, to judge by the descriptions given in the Chinese sources. If this is so, the "displacement" of the imitations of the obols of Eucratides from the valley of the Kāfirnihān and their replacement by imitations of the coins of Heliocles might be connected with the struggle of the Kwei-shwang (Kushān) tribe of the Yue-chi for supremacy over the other four tribes within the tribal union, and

the imitations of the coins of Heliocles could be seen as being struck by the Yüeh-chih tribe of Kwei-shwang, whereas the imitations of the obols of Eucratides were minted by the tribe (or realm) of Shuang-mi, lying to the east of Kwei-shwang.

III

The Great Yüeh-chih were undoubtedly the dominant political power in a considerable area of Transoxiana in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Connected with them also was a political event of crucial significance for the whole of the Middle East – the rise of the Kushān kingdom as a result of the elevation of the Yue-chi tribe of Kwei-shwang and their subjection of the other four tribes. Although the problem of the precise chronology of the Kushāns remains unsettled, we do possess a few reliable dates closely related to political history for the first centuries A.D.

Of particular importance for the history of Transoxiana is the date of the migration of the Great Yüeh-chih southward, across the Oxus. The information given in the *Han shu*, mentioned above, enables us to estimate that neither the crossing over by the Great Yüeh-chih to the left bank of the Oxus nor the creation of the Kushān kingdom can have occurred before 25 A.D., though we do not know how much later it was that they occurred. The chronological limit after which the continued existence of the Kushān kingdom is out of the question is defined by two events of the seventies and eighties of the 4th century: in the western part of the Kushān kingdom Sasanian governors (belonging to the royal dynasty) were at that time minting coins on which they described themselves as Kūshān-shāh, and the southern and eastern parts of the Kushān kingdom were then being conquered by Chandragupta II, who brought them within the bounds of the Gupta state. From inscriptions we know that the reigns of all the Kushān kings lasted all together about two centuries. Regardless of how the “burning question” of the date of Kanishka may be solved, it is clear that somewhere between 25 A.D. and the seventies or eighties of the 4th century there took place the two-hundred-year history of the Kushān kingdom.¹

In the 1st – or, if we accept the later variants of Kanishka’s date, the 2nd – century A.D. Kujula Kadphises (Kieu-tsieu-kio), having united the Great Yüeh-chih under his authority, established far to the south of

¹ See chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the Kushān dates. Ed.

the Oxus the territorial nucleus of the Kushān kingdom. But his link with Transoxiana was apparently broken at this time. The abundant copper coinage of Kujula Kadphises, represented by numerous finds made within his dominions (in Taxila alone more than two thousand coins of his were found), is completely absent north of the Oxus; only a few specimens from Tirmidh are known. Later, judging by finds of coins of Vima Kadphises or Kanishka I, there took place a partial *reconquista* by the Kushāns in Transoxiana. However, the Kushān dominions extended no farther than the Hīṣār range. In the basins of the Vakhsh, the Surkhān Daryā and the Kāfirniḥān, and in the Hīṣār valley, finds of coins of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Huvishka (encountered most rarely of all), Vasudeva and Kanishka III are numbered in hundreds. They are also known on the right bank of the middle reaches of the Oxus (as far as the Turkmenistan S.S.R., inclusive).

This same period saw the extensive opening up by irrigation of the valleys of southern Tajikistan, and apparently of southern Uzbekistan as well, to settlement by a permanent population engaged in agriculture: large trunk canals, up to a hundred kilometres in length, were dug, and the inhabitants of the smaller valleys and the foothills migrated to these newly irrigated lands. We have information from inscriptions (and, in particular, from the great Surkh Kotal inscription of Nokonzok) of the irrigation works carried out by the Kushān administration in other regions of this extensive state. For Transoxiana we have, apart from the purely archaeological data and finds of coins, only one piece of indirect evidence that such works for the establishment of large trunk canals were carried out there as well by the Kushān administration. In the Vakhsh valley (to the north-east of the Urta-boz heights) there has come down to our own day the place-name Karalang (attached to a large natural boundary and an old offshoot, neglected since the 12th century, of the trunk-canal), which is probably derived from the Bactrian *καρὰλ-ραγγο* "head of the frontier region" (which is also the title given to Nokonzok in the great Surkh Kotal inscription).

The question of the administrative structure of the Kushān dominions in Transoxiana (as generally of the administrative structure of the Kushān kingdom) remains as yet unanswered. It would seem that not only the peripheral but also the central parts of the Kushān kingdom were divided among rulers with the rank of satrap, or sovereigns subordinate to the Kushān "king of kings". It is not impossible that some of these rulers may have obtained the right to strike silver coins,

the striking of gold coins being reserved to the "king of kings". This possibility is suggested, in particular, by the existence of silver coins of Zeionises (Jihunik), a contemporary and satrap of Vima Kadphises. If we accept the hypothesis of such an administrative structure, then one of the Kushān governors in Transoxiana may have been Sanab (pl. 21 (14-16)): his name on coins is usually read as "Heraeus" or "Miaios", but if we take account only of the early, undistorted spellings of the Greek legend, it is more likely that this word is not the ruler's name but the Aramaic ideogram *MR'Y* "sovereign" in Greek characters). The palace at Khalchayan (near the town of Denau, in the valley of the river Surkhān Daryā), which was excavated by G. A. Pugachenkova, could, if we were to assume it to be somewhat younger, be seen as the remains of the residence of one of the Kushān governors in Transoxiana.

Apparently there had already taken definitive form and become profoundly marked, so early as the Kushān period, the historico-cultural demarcation between the areas of southern Tajikistan and southern Uzbekistan (the future north Tukhāristān) and the other parts of Transoxiana. In any case, only the southernmost districts of Transoxiana were under the rule of the Kushān kings. North of the Hīṣār range, finds of Kushān coins are encountered extremely rarely (a few specimens from the basin of the river Zarafshān), and neither Sughd nor Chāch nor the other principal regions of Transoxiana show traces of any extension of Kushān political power to include them.

Also to be decided negatively is the question of the inclusion of Chorasmia in the Kushān kingdom, although this suggestion was put forward after the finds of Kushān coins in the lower reaches of the Oxus; over a hundred specimens were found, from the reigns of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva, coins of the last-mentioned being markedly predominant. These finds cannot, however, be used to define political frontiers, since many of the Kushān coins from Chorasmia are marked with an S, a graphic countermark which is well known, though in the form of a tamgha, on Chorasmian coins (on silver ones of the 3rd and 4th centuries, and on copper ones struck not earlier than the 4th century). Through this mark the Kushān coins are transformed from the "foreign" into the local category.

Still more definite evidence of the political independence of most parts of Transoxiana in the Kushān period is provided by the independent local strikings found there. In most cases they go back, without perceptible breaks, to those "barbarous imitations" which earlier (in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.) were issued and circulated in the same regions. Apart from coins we have practically no sources from which to reconstruct the internal political life of Transoxiana.

Between the 2nd and 5th centuries the relative importance of the settled population in the economic life of Transoxiana increases markedly, and the nomads lose their former rôle as the dominant political force. Along with this the previous large territorial unions break up and the territorial-political division of the country becomes more fragmented. It would seem that, in order to understand the processes taking place in that period in the society of Transoxiana, one needs to remember the great trunk-canals that were laid out in approximately this period, and the populating of the newly irrigated lands by migrants from the small oases of the foothill zone. People living along the great trunk-canal not only jointly used its water and kept it clean and in repair; from the social standpoint they formed a close and stable community, whose economic cohesion was eventually given political form. This process found its fullest expression in the 7th and early 8th centuries, when the entire territory of Transoxiana, occupied by settled agricultural inhabitants, was divided into small oasis-states. In the Kushān period, too, the political map of Transoxiana that can be compiled from numismatic data shews a rather fragmented realm.

We can therefore say with confidence that in the 3rd-5th centuries, Chorasmia was divided into "left-bank" and "right-bank" realms. In the same period the basin of the Zarafshān was divided not only into "Bukharan Sughd" and "Samarkandian Sughd" but also into several different realms, each of which struck its own coins. The numismatic habitats cannot always be correlated with the information given in the Chinese dynastic chronicles (*Bei-shi*, *Sui-shu*), but in general the contours are becoming more and more definite as coin material is being accumulated.

In Samarkandian Sughd in the 1st or 2nd century A.D. there began the issuing of coins that showed, on the reverse side, a standing archer (pl. 21 (1-11)). The time during which they were struck can be divided

into four periods. The first of these (pl. 21 (1-5)) is the time of the coins of Ashtam (early Sogdian legend 'št'm on the obverse side), the primary pattern for which was made by an obviously non-local craftsman and included on the reverse side the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ANTIOXOY. Later, with the making of new dies by local engravers, the Greek legend quickly became (as with the "barbarous imitations") distorted and ornamental. Directly parallel to the "barbarous imitations", too, was the reduction of the coins with the archer from the Attic standard of about 4 grammes to 1-1.5 grammes, as early as the first of the periods, and later in the third period – rapidly and regardless of any metrological norms – there was a further fall in weight to 0.2-0.3 grammes. Any further reduction of these "drachms" was simply impossible, and during the fourth period their weight remained roughly the same; but there was a worsening of the silver content.

Thus, the archer coins (like many other Transoxianan coins of this period) show signs characteristic of "barbarous imitations" and of coins with a conventional (non-value) rate of exchange. The archer coins of the second period (the Sogdian legend on the obverse, *βγwrty* – pl. 21 (6); *hprwnh* – pl. 21 (7-9)) retain the former compositional scheme, but the representations themselves have departed considerably from the initial pattern. During the third period (on the obverse, *kyδr* – pl. 21 (10)) the stylizing of the representations is even more marked, leading to almost complete disintegration in the coins of the fourth period (plate III, 13-16): in the specimens that have come down to us there are only illegible vestiges of what was apparently a cursive legend.

It is roughly possible to date the archer coins by periods. Coins of the second period (closed writing of the letter *vāv*, not yet shown in the Sogdian "Ancient Letters") must be dated not earlier than the 4th century; those of the third period (appearance of ligatures in the writing) can be assigned to the 5th century; and those of the fourth period are dated, from archaeological stratigraphy (the Penjikent site), as belonging to the late 5th or early 6th century.

Since the archer coins bear no titles (if we do not include the Greek legend, rapidly subjected to ornamentation), and one and the same legend remains on coins struck over a period of a hundred years and more, it is clear that these coins did not bear the personal, nominal mark of the rulers of Samarkandian Sughd between the 1st and 2nd centuries and the 6th century and the first half of the 7th.

The so-called coins of Hyrcodes (pl. 19 (13-25)) are in many ways parallel with the archer coins. Their location in the south-western part of Sughd is beyond doubt (the main area of the finds is the south-western part of the Bukhārā oasis and the district of Āmul), but this needs to be narrowed down more precisely. It is necessary to distinguish between two branches of the coins bearing the name of Hyrcodes (the Greek legend $\text{YPK}\omega\Delta\text{OY}$ on the obverse side), the difference lying in what appears on the reverse side (a standing divinity with a flame rising from his shoulder and the legend $\text{AP}\Delta\text{H}\Theta\text{POY MA KAPOY}$; a protome of a prancing horse and the legend $\text{YPK}\omega\Delta\text{OY}$). These coins altered approximately in the same way as the archer coins (beginning of distortion of the legend, pl. 19 (14, 20); the signs making up the illegible legend are merely reminiscent of letters of the Greek alphabet – pl. 19 (15, 21). But attempts to replace the Greek legend which had lost its meaning by a new, Sogdian legend (pl. 19 (22)... $\text{MR}'\text{Y}$... ?; pl. 19 (16-18) – $\text{'nt'wy}\gamma\text{w'zn}$, as W. B. Henning read it) were accompanied by substantial changes in the iconography of the obverse side and were apparently connected with the appearance in the mint of new die-engravers. The whole subsequent minting (pl. 19 (23-25)) is anepigraphic and constitutes a consecutive series in which the “disintegration” of the representations is fully completed. Parallel with these changes in the representations and the legend goes a gradual reduction in weight and, in the final phase, a sharp deterioration in the silver content.

Like the archer coins, the coins of Hyrcodes are essentially an anonymous minting that shows neither the ruler's name nor his titles.

In Sughd (in the southern or south-western part) yet another group of early Sogdian coins was issued (pl. 19 (3)), derived from imitations of early Seleucid drachms of the Alexander type (through the reverse side, where Zeus bearing an eagle is depicted in a very stylized way). Unlike the archer coins and the coins of Hyrcodes, on these coins the Sogdian legend (obverse $\text{'yw}\delta\text{w yn}$; reverse $\text{MR}'\text{Y}$) includes the title “ruler”, rendered by means of an Aramaic ideogram. These coins, less than a score of which are known, can be dated only broadly – some time between the 2nd and 4th centuries.

In the Bukhārā area coins were still being struck in this period on the pattern of the tetradrachms of Euthydemus. In the 1st century B.C. or the 1st century A.D., however, along with the spoiled Greek legend there appears first the tamgha 𐰽 (pl. 20 (5)), and then also an early

Sogdian legend, i.e., a change takes place from a purely imitative striking to a Sogdian striking in accordance with the type of the tetradrachm of Euthydemus.

Only the earliest legend on these coins (*myrδat* – pl. 20 (6)) is unaccompanied by a title. On the unique coin in the British Museum, Henning proposed to read *kβčt MLK'*, but it is not impossible that the second word is *MR'(Y)*. The title *MR'Y* is found, in any case, on all the other coins of this group (it can be read with certainty also where Henning saw *MLK' twbr*) in combination with yet another word, the reading of which remains unclear (it is hardly likely to be a personal name: more probably a place-name or another title). In the process of reproducing one and the same legend over about four centuries this legend underwent stylization (but with a stable and quite intelligible way of writing). In other words, for the Sogdian legend on these coins there was developed a special kind of *ductus* which is not found on any other written memorials. This accounts for the special difficulty experienced in reading it.

In the minting of Sogdian coins of the type of the tetradrachms of Euthydemus we can distinguish two main periods (with a more detailed chronological subdivision within each of these). The first period must be dated from the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. (a ruler wearing a diadem – pl. 20 (5–9)) and the second (a ruler wearing a “tiara” – pl. 20 (10–12)) from the 2nd to the 4th century.


Despite the instability in the weight of the Sogdian coins of the type of the tetradrachms of Euthydemus, complete reduction did not take place. But their rate of exchange was conventional: the concealed reduction (worsening of the silver content) shows this to have been so.

In the second half of the 4th century (or at the end of it) the issue of Sogdian coins of the type of the tetradrachms of Euthydemus suddenly stops, and they are replaced by coins with a quite different appearance (pl. 24 (5, 6)): small silver coins with a head-and-shoulders representation of a ruler in a diadem on the obverse (on the whole, iconographically in the Transoxianan tradition), and on the reverse an altar with a blazing fire and a circular legend in Sogdian, in which only the title *MR'Y* can be read. In this same period, copper coins with the same type of obverse were being struck (pl. 24 (7, 8)) but which had on the reverse a man's face on a sacrificial altar. Both of these series are ancestors of a new and lengthy “numismatic dynasty” of Bukharan copper coins (pl. 24 (9–15)), the issue of which went on until the 7th century. The

5th and 6th centuries also saw the appearance of other series of coins in the Bukhārā oasis (often anepigraphic) which it is at present difficult to correlate with specific states and sovereigns.

Bukharan silver strikings of the type of the drachms of Bahrām V (the legend is read by V. A. Livshits as *pwx'r xwb k'w*) seem to show a transition to circulation on a value basis, and, as regards internal politics, to the formation of a hierarchical structure of rulers of different ranks in the Bukhārā oasis.

Similar processes took place in the 5th and 6th centuries in other parts of Transoxiana as well. The development and spread of new social forms were accompanied by the appearance of new centres for the minting of coins, new series of coins, and a generally much more intricate situation as regards the circulation of money in Transoxiana in this period. Precise location has been suggested by S. K. Kabanov for groups of copper coins with a representation on the reverse side of a king cleaving a lion with his sword (pl. 24 (18); Livshits reads the Sogdian legend as *kyjykw k'w* "King of Kish"?). All the finds of these coins are connected with the Kashka Daryā oasis. A few large numismatic groups, however, have as yet not been given a well-founded geographical attribution (pl. 24 (16, 17, 19)).

The first steps in independent striking of coins in Chorasmia were taken in the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. Here we can trace how gradually a transition occurred from purely imitative issues to independent ones. First (pl. 23 (1)), on the imitations of tetradrachms of the Greco-Bactrian king Eucratides (a king wearing a helmet/charging Dioscuri) there appeared only the tamgha , which has been given the name "Chorasmian" (although a very close variant is found on Sogdian coins of the type of the tetradrachms of Euthydemus – pl. 20 (5)): with a few modifications, this is a feature of all the subsequent Chorasmian strikings.

Later, the iconography is changed, first on the obverse and later on the reverse (pl. 23 (2, 3)): instead of the two charging Dioscuri, a horseman is shown, facing right. The horseman, like the tamgha, is characteristic of the majority of the Chorasmian silver coins, and some of the copper ones, down to the middle of the 8th century.

Then there appear on the reverse side (at first along with the vestiges of the distorted Greek legend) Chorasmian legends (in a local variation of the Aramaic script), containing as a rule the name and title of a king (*wrtrmwš MLK'* – pl. 23 (3); *wzm'r MLK'* – pl. 23 (4); *s'nßry*

MLK' – pl. 23 (6) etc.). Early Chorasmian silver strikings are known from a very small number of specimens, but a copper coin was issued at the same time, the reverse side of which was often completely occupied by the tamgha (copper coins of King Vazamar – pl. 23 (5)). Later, during the 5th and part of the 6th centuries, silver was not minted in Chorasmia, while copper coins continued to be issued.

When the issuing of silver coins was resumed, in the 7th century, the appearance of the coins was different: on the thin, flat disc, representations were executed in very low relief, and the style of the representations was changed. In that period, apparently, in Chorasmia as in Bukhārā, a transition took place from a conventional to a value-based circulation of silver coins.

Simultaneously with the resumption of silver minting, the titles given in the legend were altered – the dual title *MR'Y MLK'* “sovereign (and) king” is shown, plus the name of the ruler (*MR'Y MLK' šr'm* – pl. 24 (11); *MR'Y MLK' k'nyk* – pl. 24 (12); *MR'Y MLK' wz'k'nčwr* (I) – pl. 24 (13); *MR'Y MLK' xwsrw* – pl. 24 (14); *MR'Y MLK' sy'wršprn* and also a name in the Sogdian legend on the obverse side – pl. 24 (4)).

Comparison of the numismatic data with the information given by Bīrūnī (and, in particular, with his list of twenty-two kings who reigned over Chorasmia between 304 and 994 A.D.) results in coincidence only in a few names for the 8th century (Shāvashfar, Azkājuvār) and in two cases for earlier kings (*rθmw* in Bīrūnī, *wtrmwš* on coins; *š'wš* and *sy'wršprn*). Just as unreliable, as Livshits has recently shown, are Bīrūnī's statements about “the era of Āfrīgh”: comparison of Chorasmian inscriptions dated in accordance with the local era (documents from Toprak-kala with the dates 188, 204, 207 and 231; inscriptions on silver vessels with dates 570, 700, 703?, 714; inscriptions on ossuaries from Tok-kala with dates between 658 and 738) with objects and strata dated independently of the inscriptions show that the era used in these inscriptions can begin not later than the first decades of the 2nd century A.D., but certainly not in 304 A.D. The “era of Āfrīgh” of which Bīrūnī wrote, if it existed at all, was not the official era used throughout Chorasmia.

The dual title “sovereign (and) king” on Chorasmian silver coins of the 7th and 8th centuries presupposes the presence in Chorasmia of several sovereigns (*MR'Y* = *xwtw*), each possessing a certain degree of independence but subordinate to a king (*Khwārazmshāh* with the title *MLK'*) who was himself one of these sovereigns. The existence of

such "ducal" sovereigns in Chorasmia is attested by their coins. B. I. Vainberg considers that the "sovereign (and) king" Khusrau (down to 712) ruled only over the Kerder oasis, although, judging by the title on the coins, he regarded himself as being king of all Chorasmia.

A similar internal political structure is particularly clearly traceable for Samarkandian Sughd in the second half of the 7th century and the first half of the 8th, that is, for the period when the cast copper coins of the Chinese pattern were issued here (usually with on one side the tamgha and on the other a Sogdian legend with the name and title of the ruler), to which O. I. Smirnova has devoted almost forty years' study.

The supreme ruler of Samarkandian Sughd bore the title "king" (*MLK'* on coins and in documents, the ideogram for Sogdian $\gamma\dot{s}y\delta$ = *ikhshīd*): c. 642 – Shīshpīr (*šyšpyr MLK'*), c. 650–5 – Varkhūmān (*βrywm'n MLK'*), 696–8 – Tūkāspādāk (*twk'sp'δ'k MLK'*), c. 700–9 – Tarkhūn (*trywn MLK'*), 712–38 – Ghūrak (*'wy'rk MLK'*). This list could be extended (or, more precisely, supplemented) with a few more names which are known to us either solely from coins or else solely from written sources.

Although the royal title could pass from father to son (in particular, one of the points in the treaty of 712 between Ghūrak and the Arabs guarantees recognition by the latter of Ghūrak's son as his successor), in the Chinese sources we much more often find statements that such and such an *ikhshīd* was "installed by the people", "chosen by the nobles", etc.

The other title found in different forms in the sources is that of "sovereign" (on coins, as a rule, *MR'Y*; in documents it is met with, spelt out in Sogdian, as *γwt'w* or *γwβ*). One of the *khvatāvs* was also supreme king – his full title was "king of Sughd, sovereign of Samarkand" (*sywdy'nk MLK' sm'rkndč MR'Y*). From coins we know best the "dynasty" of sovereigns of Penjikent. Judging by the documents from the Mount Mugh archive, the sovereign of Penjikent (Panch) was Dīvāstīch, but we have no knowledge of Penjikent coins with his name or of his coins for all Sughd; for at least two years, and apparently at the same time as Ghūrak, Dīvāstīch called himself "king of Sughd, sovereign of Samarkand".

The general picture of the internal political life of Samarkandian Sughd, of Chorasmia and of other parts of Transoxiana is somewhat complicated by the disturbing circumstance of the struggle against the Arabs between the end of the 7th century and the first quarter of the

8th, but it would seem that our attention should at present be concentrated on the fundamental phenomena and processes, since in any case we are unable with our present sources to reconstruct in detail the concrete changes in the internal political history of Transoxiana between the 3rd and 7th centuries.

About the 3rd and 4th centuries the political map of Transoxiana becomes more fragmented than in the age of the "barbarous imitations". Northern Tukhāristān (the basin of the right bank of the Oxus) is finally separated from the other parts of Transoxiana, first under the rule of the Kushān kings and then under the Sasanian governors in the districts conquered from the Kushān kingdom. The habitat of Kushāno-Sasanian coins in Transoxiana is now defined fairly sharply: they are known along the whole of the right bank of the Oxus as far as Chahār Jū, are encountered in the Bukhārā oasis (Paikand) and are especially numerous in the valleys of the Surkhān Daryā, Kāfirnihān, Qizil Sū and Vakhsh, and in the Hişār valley. Further north and deeper into Transoxiana, however, absolutely no Kushāno-Sasanian coins are found.

Bukharan Sughd was, down to the second half of the 4th century, almost entirely under the rule of sovereigns who issued coins of the type of the tetradrachms of Euthydemus. But the southern and southwestern parts of Transoxiana did not belong to them: the "dynasty of Hyrcodes" (or rather the two "dynasties", but it is not clear how they were divided territorially), struck their own money, and other independent Sogdian realms existed (to one of them belong the coins with a seated figure of Zeus on the reverse). Down to the 6th century, or the first half of the 7th, the single line of tradition is not broken in Samarkandian Sughd, which seems to have been formed early on into a politically united whole.

Chorasmia in the first centuries of the Christian era seems more "advanced" socially and politically. Its ruler assumed the title of "king" before any of the other dynasties of Transoxiana. Almost nothing is known of the internal political life of the northern borderlands of Transoxiana down to the 6th and 7th centuries; there a settled agricultural population seems to have begun somewhat later to set about constructing large trunk-canals. The closer vicinity of the nomad political groupings provides only a partial explanation of the social and political backwardness of Chāch, Farghāna and other areas lying to the north of the rest of Transoxiana.

The rulers of small oases, separated from each other economically

and politically, were unable to offer serious resistance if Transoxiana were invaded. The mention of "Kish, Sughd, and the mountains of Chāch" as forming one of the boundaries up to which Īrānshahr extended, in Shāpūr I's inscription on the Ka'ba-yi Zardusht (262) may be evidence of a campaign by Shāpūr I across the Oxus. Possessing as we do no more detailed sources for, or material traces of, Shāpūr I's visit to Transoxiana, the itinerary of his army can be reconstructed only in a purely speculative way – from Marv over the river-crossing at Āmul (Chahār Jū) to Paikand, a distance of twelve farsakhs (thirty-six miles) across a sand desert, and then another five farsakhs to Bukhārā; if "the mountains of Chāch", i.e. the mountains on the border of Chāch, means the Nura-tau ridge, then Shāpūr I may have got as far as the middle reaches of the river Zarafshān (Samarkand and its environs), and Kish would then have lain on his way back to the Oxus and Balkh.

However, none of the realms of Transoxiana was included in Shāpūr I's *dastkart* "Res Gestae". There is no mention, either, of the Iranian sovereigns ruling over these realms through vassals belonging to local dynasties, and the coins minted here by the local rulers provide no foundation for such a supposition. Influence of Sasanian coin iconography on the coins of the Bukhārā oasis is noticeable from the last decades of the 4th century onward, when the reverse side of the local coins begin to show a representation of an altar (on the copper coins a man's face appears on the altar), borrowed either from the Kushāno-Sasanian coins or from those of Shāpūr II (pl. 31 (1-5)). Later, the drachms of Bahrām V (or imitations of these in the Hephthalite period) served as prototype for the so-called "Bukhārkhudāt" coins; this line was continued, in the form of the "gitrifi" dirhams, in the mintings of Transoxiana right down to the 11th century.

The influence of Sasanian Iran was also noticeable in Chorasmia. In the reign of King Vazamar it was shown in the iconography of the obverse of the silver coins (the shape of the crown and other details) and also in the composition of the design of the copper coins. It is not impossible that it was under Sasanian influence that the royal titles assumed the form they did in Chorasmia.

The complicated relations (very confusedly depicted in the sources) between Sasanian Iran and its eastern neighbours in the 5th and 6th centuries do not seem to have had any direct effect on the countries of Transoxiana: the struggle was fought out further south, in Tukhāristān

(Ṭāliqān, Balkh). There is no reflection of these relations in the coins of Transoxiana in this period – nor do they reflect the conquest of Sughd by the Hephthalites (509).

Only in the 7th century, it seems, was the internal political structure of the countries of Transoxiana finally constituted – a system of petty independent sovereigns recognizing the paramountcy of a king who also has his own territory and is, essentially, a “sovereign of sovereigns”. In this period we can again observe comparatively large countries on the political map of the region – Bukhāran Sughd, Samarkandian Sughd, Chorasmia, northern Tukhāristān, Chāch, Farghāna – the political cohesion of these countries being apparently of varying extent.

It may be that this process was somewhat accelerated by Transoxiana's external political conflicts in the 7th century, first with China (in the western regions there was even carried out in 650–5 a reorganization of the Chinese administrative divisions, and the *wang* of Kang, Fu-hu-man (i.e. the *ikhshīd* Varkhūmān) was “appointed” governor-general of Sughd), and then with the Arabs, whose first contacts with Transoxiana took the form of raids. Even after the victorious raid by Qutaiba b. Muslim in 712, when he carried “fire and sword” throughout the region, Transoxiana could not be regarded as having been finally conquered. In 718–19, three rulers from Transoxiana – the *ikhshīd* of Sughd, Ghūrak, the king of Bukhārā, Tughshāda, and the sovereign of Kumedh, Narayana – sent messages to the T'ang emperor Hsüan Tsung asking for help against the Arabs: help that was not forthcoming. In order to subject Transoxiana completely, the Arabs had to resort to diplomacy and make use of the divisions and mutual hostility between the local sovereigns.

To appreciate the situation in Transoxiana, we may refer to the fate of a noble magnate of Sughd, Dīvāštīch, sovereign of Panjikent, who, for a period of not less than two years (parallel, apparently, with Ghūrak) called himself “king of Sughd, sovereign of Samarkand”. Thanks to Dīvāštīch's archives, from his fortress on Mount Mugh we now know how complex and ambiguous his position was. On the one hand he was in correspondence with al-Jarrāḥ, governor of Khurāsān, calling himself the latter's client (*maulā*), and with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ, from whom he received instructions. He looked after the sons of the *ikhshīd* Tarkhūn, who had been removed by the Sogdians for submissiveness to the Arabs, and most probably received his title of “king of Sughd, sovereign of Samarkand” from the hands of the Arabs.

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On the other hand, however, he sent a confidential agent to the *khvatāv* of Chāch, the khāqān of the Turks and the king of Farghāna, and carried on some sort of negotiations with them behind the backs of the Arabs. In 722 he first took refuge from the Arabs in Penjikent, and then fled to the mountains, to a remote fortress. The troop that pursued him was led by al-Musayyib b. Bishr al-Riyāhī, but along with him were also the Transoxianan sovereigns – the Khwārazmshāh Shaukar, son of Khamīk, and Ghūram, sovereign of Akharūn and Shūmān (in the Hīṣār valley). On the orders of Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī, governor of Khurāsān, Dīvāshtīch was later crucified on a *nāʾūs* (tumulus).¹

The sovereigns of Transoxiana still retained some independence (including the right to issue their own currency) down to the middle of the 8th century, and the final conquest of the region by the Arabs took place only in the last quarter of that century.

¹ [On the penetration of the Sogdians further east into Eastern Turkistan, Mongolia and China see ch. 7, pp. 270ff. On trade with China and the Sogdians as merchants, see ch. 13, pp. 551ff. On Sogdian cultural achievements, their religious activities, and their relations with the Turkic nations of Central Asia, see ch. 17, pp. 615ff. On the development of the arts in Transoxiana see ch. 30. On the languages, scripts and literatures of the region, see Section VIII.]

APPENDIX

KEY TO PLATES 19-24

Thanks are due to the authorities of the following museums for permission to illustrate coins in their collections:

Moscow – State Historical Museum.

Leningrad – State Hermitage Museum.

Samarkand – Museum of History of Arts and Culture of Uzbekistan.

Termez – Historical Museum.

Tashkent – Museum of the History of Uzbekistan.

Plate 19

EARLY SOGDIAN COINS

- 1-2. Central Asian imitations of Alexander drachms or of early Seleucid drachms with similar types. Locality uncertain. 2nd-1st century B.C.
3. Early Sogdian coin, derived from nos 1-2. Southern Sughd (?). 1st-4th century A.D.
- 4-11. Early Sogdian imitations of the drachms of Antiochus I. Samarkandian Sughd. Late 3rd century B.C.-1st century A.D.
12. Early Sogdian coin of Ashtam; reverse type derived from nos 4-11. Samarkandian Sughd. 2nd century A.D.
- 13-18. Coins of Hyrcodes; reverse, protome of prancing horse. Locality uncertain (south-, western Sughd?) 1st-4th century A.D.
- 19-25. Coins of Hyrcodes; reverse, standing male deity. Western Sughd (Bukhārā). 1st-6th century A.D.

*15, 23-5 debased silver or bronze; the rest silver.
4-8, 10, 12 Samarkand; the rest Leningrad.*

Plate 20

EARLY SOGDIAN IMITATIONS OF EUTHYDEMUS TETRADRACHMS. WESTERN SUGHD (BUKHĀRĀ)

- 1-4. With corrupt Greek legends. 2nd century B.C.
5. With corrupt legends and *tamgha*. Early 1st century B.C.
- 6-9. With early Sogdian legends. 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D.
- 10-12. With early Sogdian legends on reverse; head in *tiara* on obverse. 2nd-4th century A.D.

*1-12 debased silver or plated silver.
2 Tashkent; the rest Leningrad.*

Plate 21

- 1-11. Early Sogdian coins with archer type. Samarkandian Sughd. 1st-early 6th century A.D.
- 1-5. First period, with name *'ft'm* on obverse; Greek legend or imitation Greek legend on reverse.
- 6-9. Second period, with name *βγwrty* (6), *hprwrnh* (7-9).
10. Third period, with name *kyδr*.
11. Fourth period, with uncertain legend.

5 bronze; the rest silver.

12. Imitation of the obols of Eucratides. Silver. Southern Tajikistan. Late 2nd century B.C.-late 1st century A.D.
13. Coin of Spadbizes. Bronze. Southern Uzbekistan. Contemporary of Kadphises(?).

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- 14-16. Coins of Sanab (alias "Heraeus" or "Miaios"). Southern Tajikistan. Contemporary of Vima Kadphises (?).

*14 obol; 15, 16 tetradrachms.
1, 7 Samarkand; 5, 6 Tashkent;
12 Moscow; the rest Leningrad.*

Plate 22

IMITATIONS OF TETRADRACHMS AND DRACHMS OF HELIOCLES. BRONZE. SOUTHERN TAJIKISTAN, SOUTHERN UZBEKISTAN AND NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN

- 1, 2. 1st century B.C.—early 1st century A.D.
3, 4. 1st century A.D.
5-8. Late 1st century A.D.—first half of 2nd century A.D.

1, 5 Termez; 2, 4 Tashkent; the rest Leningrad.

Plate 23

EARLY CHORASMIAN COINS. 1ST-4TH CENTURIES A.D.

1. Imitation of the tetradrachms of Eucratides, with "Chorasmian" *tamgha*. Silver. Locality uncertain. Late 2nd-1st century B.C.
2. Early Chorasmian "tetradrachm", without name of king.
3. King (MLK') *wrtmws*.
4-5. King *wxm'r*. 5 bronze, without legend.
6. King *s'nßry*.
7. King *sr'm*.

All Leningrad.

Plate 24

- 1-4. Coins of Chorasmia 7th-8th centuries A.D.
1, 2. King *wzk'nšw'r*.
3. King *hwsrw*.
4. King *sy'wrfprn*; with additional Sogdian legend on obverse.
5-17. Coins of western Sughd (Bukhārā). 4th-8th centuries A.D.

5, 6 silver; the rest bronze.

18. Coin of Kish (modern Karshi). 5th-6th centuries A.D. Bronze.
19. Coin of Kubādiyān. 5th-6th centuries A.D. Bronze.

All Leningrad.



19 Early Sogdian coins.



20 Early Sogdian imitations of Euthydemus tetradrachms.



21 (Above) Sogdian archer type; (below) Eucratides derivatives.





23 Early Chorasmian coins.



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<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts) (Berlin)
<i>AAWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Göttingen)
<i>AAntASH</i>	<i>Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AArchASH</i>	<i>Acta archaeologica academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels)
<i>Acta Iranica</i>	<i>Acta Iranica</i> (encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes) (Tehran–Liège–Leiden)
<i>Aevum</i>	<i>Aevum</i> (Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche) (Milan)
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> (Berlin)
<i>AI</i>	<i>Ars Islamica</i> = <i>Ars Orientalis</i> (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali: Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i> (s.l. sezione linguistica; n.s. new series) (Naples)
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i> (Chicago)
<i>AKM</i>	<i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Leipzig)
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> (old series 9 vols 1929–38; new series 1968–) (Berlin)
<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i> (revue annuelle d'archéologie) (Ankara)
<i>ANS</i>	American Numismatic Society
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> (New York)
<i>ANSNM</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs (New York)
<i>ANSNS</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies (New York)
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity</i> (a periodical review of archaeology edited by Glyn Daniel) (Cambridge)
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica Svedica) (Copenhagen)
<i>AOAW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
<i>AOH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
<i>Apollo</i>	<i>Apollo</i> (The magazine of the arts) (London)
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i> (Quarterly Journal of African, Asian and Latin American Studies) (Prague)
<i>Artibus Asiae</i>	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) (Dresden, Ascona)

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- BCH* *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens-Paris)
- BCMA* *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, Ohio)
- BEFEO* *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* (Hanoi-Paris)
- Berytus* *Berytus* (archaeological studies published by the Museum of Archaeology and the American University of Beirut) (Copenhagen)
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- Byzantion* *Byzantion* (Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines) (Brussels)
- CAH* *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols; 1st edition 1924-39 (Cambridge) (Revised edition 1970-)
- Caucasica* *Caucasica* (Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Kaukasus und Armeniens) 10 fascs (Leipzig, 1924-34)
- CII* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Oxford)
- CIIr* *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* (London)
- CRAI* *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* (Paris)
- CSCO* *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris, Louvain)
- CSEL* *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna)
- DOAW* *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
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- EI* *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta)
- Eos* *Eos* (Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum) (Bratislava-Warsaw)
- EPRO* *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* (Leiden)
- Eranos* *Eranos* (Acta Philologica Suecana) (Uppsala)
- ERE* *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-21)
- GCS* *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, Berlin)
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- SPAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
- StIr* *Studia Iranica* (Leiden)
- Sumer* *Sumer* (journal of archaeology and history in Iraq) (Baghdad)
- SWAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
- Syria* *Syria* (Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie) (Paris)
- TITAKE* *Trudi Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Archeologicheskoi Kimpleknoi Ekspeditsii*, 6 vols (Moscow, 1949-58)
- TM* *Travaux et mémoires* (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilization de Byzance) (Paris)
- T'oung Pao* *T'oung Pao* (Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie orientale) (Leiden)
- TPS* *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London)
- VDI* *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (Moscow)
- WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig)
- WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna)
- YCS* *Yale Classical Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Berlin)
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)
- ZN* *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin)

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Thirty-three miscellaneous fragments, eighteen of which had remained unpublished, were edited with translation and notes by N. Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian fragments of the British Library", *IJ* XVIII (1976), pp. 43-74; they include a magical text, the Rustam fragment, a Christian text on divination, graffiti, commercial, medical, Buddhist (tale of the farmer and the fisherman) and Manichaean (on the five sins) texts. In an appendix (*ibid*, pp. 75-82) I. Gershevitch studies two lines of one of the fragments, in which he recognized a Sogdian version of the Zoroastrian *Ašem vohu* prayer.

Sogdian documents from Mount Mugh

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